SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

FRENCH AND GERMAN SOCIALISM IN MODER TIMES By RIGHARD TO MALE, The Marper & Brosucra.

WHAT SOCIAL CLASSES OWE TO EACH OTHER.
By WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER. 16mo, pp. 169.
Harper & Brothers.
The jast and candid spirit in which Professor Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, undertakes the explanation of the theories of modern socialistic and trade reformers is as rare in works of this character as it is in the polemics of theologians. He complains with good reason that a vast majority of the books on socialism and communism are worthless because their their authors start " with such an intense hatred of all socialistic systems that it is simply impossible for them to understand those systems"; and they couple their misunderstanding with such a reckless use of harsh and contemptuous epithets that the only effect of their labor is to arouse bad blood and drive the various classes of society further spart than ever. In avoiding this vulgar error he has taken pains not only to give a dispassionate synopsis of all the schemes and theories which fall under his review, but he seems to have felt pleasure in setting in a strong light whatever is best in the personal character of individual reformers. This is the right method. We shall never comprehend the danger of socialistic movements if we shut our eyes to the fervid convictions, the generous enthu-masm, and the perfect unselfishness which often

animate their apostles.

French socialism, as it is explained in his chapters on Babouf, Cabet, Saint Simon, Fourier, Louis Blane and Proudhon is wildly unpractical, fantastic, often ab urdly sentimental and dreamy. It has rarely been a serious force, and has chiefly a historical interest at present, for nearly all author-lities agree that during the space of a generation it has been more bund and unfruitful. The anarchists and Blanquists, who are the most conspicuous of the socialistic parties in France, are not supposed to be numerous. Their character may be judged from the title of the organ of the Bianquists, "Ni Dieu ni Maitre," and from the famous declaration of the anarchists that they " propose to teach the people how to get along without government, as they already begin to learn how to get along without God. They will learn, likewise, how to get along without property-holders." The tendency of socialistic reform is decidedly atheistic. It is not clear that it need be so; but in point of fact it is generally coupled with materialism. In this, as in almost everything else, contemporary French socialism follows that of Germany; for if France has ceased to produce any serious reform system of her own, she makes industrious use of the labor-philosophy excogitated beyond the Rhine. "With comparatively few unimportant exceptions, all socialism of to-day, whether found in Paris or Berlin, in New-York or Vienna, in Chicago or Frankfort-on-the-Main, is through and through German." Professor Ely does not nide his belief that in this hard, scientific, unsentimental, relentless socialism which has replaced the fancies of Cabet and Proudhon lies a great danger to this country as well as to the rest of the world. At the Congress of German Social Democrats held in Copenhagen, in March and April, 1883, an interesting feature of the reports was the considerable financial aid received from America. The party seems to be gaining strength, and acquiring more and mere of an international character. Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx are the mos-

conspicuous personages in modern German socialism, and Professor Ely gives a clear account of have been greatly inferior to these famous men, not only in ability but in personal uprightness; nevertheless, we shall make a serious mistake if we look upon all or even the majority of them a mere demagogues and self-soekers. It is to be noted that they recognize the practical incompatibility of liberty and equality, and that they regard equality as much the more important of the two. For this they are quite ready to sacrifice individual freedom. They attribute extraordinary powers to the State; and if they should succeed in overthrowing the existing order of government and society, we should see in its place one of the most absolute despotisms the world has ever known. "The most general demands of the Social Democrats are the following: The State should exist exclusively for the laborers; land and capital must become collective property, and production be carried on unitedly. Private competition, in the ordinary sense of the term, is to cease. Officers especially money is to be replaced by money representing labor-units; labor is to become the sole purchasing power. One of the party programmes requires a distribution of products according to the needs of each recipient." The majority expect the violent overthrow of existing maritumous by revolution to precede the introduction of the socialistic state. The relations of socialism to current politics in Germany are fairly considered; and a chapter is devoted to schemes of Christian Socialism as represented by De Lamennais in France, by Charles Kingsley, F. D. Maurice and Thomas Hughes in England, and by Bishop von Ketteler in Germany. In this movement, and especially in the influence of the Church in Germany, Professor Ely finds the surest hope for society and for the poor.

-The treatise by Protessor, Sumner, of Yale, on

"What Social Classes Owe to Each Other," is conspicuous for the faults of manner from which Professor Ely's book 18 so happily free. There is an insolent dogmatism about it which cannot fail to irritate the misguided persons whom it is probably intended to convert, and which is offensive indeed even to those who agree with many of the author's principles. An example of this unfortunate peculiarity may be cited from one of the introductory paragraphs. After remarking that we hear a great deal newadays about social problems, and ask-ing, "Who are those who assume to put hard questions to other people, and to demand a solution of them?" he answers that to all appearances "those who are bound to solve the problems are the rich, comfortable, prosperous, virtuous, respectable, educated and healthy; and those whose right it is to set the problems are those who have been less fortunate or less successful in the struggle for existence. The problem itself seems to be, how shall the latter be made as comfortable as the former?" This statement of the case is wonderfully maladroit. It will be noticed that Professor Summer calmly assumes that "virtue" and "respectability" are, as a matter of course, on the side of the rich, as against the poor and dinfortunate; m other words, that the problem is, how to make the bad poor as comfortable as the good rich. This tone of gratuitous insult to his opponents is continued all through the book. And as the Professor moreover assumes in effect that the poor really have no social grievances to compian of, it may be taken for granted that he will not be heard very patiently except by those of his own way of thinking

His point of view, as he would probably say, is that or the scientific economist, not at all that of the numanitarian. He treats soundly and clearly the nature of capital, the rights of property and labor, and the duty of the State to give every man a fair chance, and to refrain from taking one man's goods for another man's benefit. But in the ap-plication of the non-interference theory he goes to the furthest extreme. As for the question, What do Social Classes Owe to Each Other ? his answer is in effect that they owe nothing. "A free man in a free democracy has no duty whatever toward other men of the same rank and standing except respect, courtesy and good-will." The qualifying words " of the same rank and standing" make this proposition somewhat ambiguous; but elsewhere the author says that in a free State, one group owes another nothing beyond "good-will, mutual re-spect and mutual gnarautees of liberty and secur-ity"; that "every man and woman in society has one big duty—that is, to take care of his or berel?". one big duty—that is, to take care of his or herselt?; that the head of a family has, besides this, his duties to his wite and children, and perhaps other personal dependents, but none to society. No man has "a surplus of energy, wisdom and moral virtue begond what he needs for his own business." With

man, the author has nothing to do. Organized and public schemes of charity, philanthropy and reform, however, he treats as little tetter than robbers; they are devices of A and B to make C give part of his property to D. Even when a policeman picks a drunkard out of the gutter, society commits a wrong. The drunkard belongs in the gutter; "the industrious and sober workman, who is mulcted of a percentage of his day's wages to pay the policeman, is the one who bears the penalty." The fallacy of the assumption that the industrious and sober workman has no interest in the preservation of public order, and in the suppression of pauperism as the chief source of crime, is obvious enough; but Professor Summer has overloked it. We cannot resist the feeling that our professor has a great contempt for the poor. They are the useless persons by whom the productive and conservative forces of society are wasted. "Every bit of capital which is given to a shiftless and inefficient member of society, who makes no return for it, is diverted from a reproductive use; but if it was put to reproductive use it would have to be granted in wages to an efficient and productive laborer. Hence the real sufferer by that kind of benevolence which consists in an expenditure of capital to protect the good-for-nothing is the industrious laborer."

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"There is an old ecclesiastical prejudice," says Professor Summer, " in favor of the poor and against the rich. In days when men acted by ecclesiastical rules, these prejudices produced waste of capital, and helped mightily to replunge Europe into barbarism. The prejudices are not yet dead. but they survive in our society as ludierous contradictions and inconsistencies." This ecclesiastical prejudice is indeed "old": as old as the Christian religion. It was our Lord who first preached it; but then he had not enjoyed the advantage of a course of lec tures on political economy at Yale College.

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a. m., 1300, 4350, 5350, 6350 p. m. Sannays 3:53 a. m., Huntington, Northport—9:05 a. m. 435, 6:35 p. m. Sandays 3:65 a. m., 6:35 p. m. Port Jederson—9:05 a. m., 4:35 p. m. Sundays 3:05 a. m. Bondows (2005) a. m., 235, 5:35. Sundays 3 a. m. Flushing and Great Neck Branch—6:35, 7:35, 8:45, 11:35 a. m. Flushing and Great Neck Branch—6:35, 7:35, 8:45, 11:35 a. m., 3:35, 5:35, 5:35, 8:35, 7:05 a. m., Wednesdays and Saintays 3:35, 4:35, 5:35, 8:05 a. m., 3:35, 5:35, 8:35 a. m., 3:35, 3:

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Boffalo, Cincinnati (except Saturday), Toledo, Detroit Louis.

6:30 p. m., Express, with sleeping cars to Syracuse and to Azhera, Road; also to Saratoga and Montreal.

*9 p. m., Pacific Express, with sleeping cars for Rochester, Bushle, "9 p. m., Pacific Express, with alceping cars for Rochester, Bushle, "9 p. m., And Clayton (except Saturday), Louis, Cape Vincent (except Saturday), and Clayton (except Saturday), are to Albany and Troj. 1 p. m., Night Express, with sleeping cars to Albany and Torj. Connects with the morning trains for the West and North (except Saturday night.)

Tickets on sale at Grand Contral Depot, No. 5 Bowling Green, 25 and 413 Eroadway, and at Westcotter Express Offices, 3 Park Pince and 785 and 942 Broadway, New York, and 383 Weshington and 785 and 942 Broadway, New York, and 383 Weshington and 785 and 942 Broadway, Sew York, and 383 Weshington and 785 than 364 Futton-st, Broaklyn, and 79 4th-st, Williamsburg, Baggagge sailed for and checked from residence.

*These trains run daily; all others daily except Sanday.

J. M. TOUCEY,

Gen. Sup's